

Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE
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NODIS
CHEROKEE FOR THE SECRETARY FROM ATHERTON AND SAUNDERS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PEPR, EG, IS

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH EGYPTIAN FOREIGN
MINISTER APRIL 18

REF: SECTO 4017

1. AS YOU KNOW, KAMEL IS CONSIDERABLY MORE EMOTIONAL AND
MORE RIGID IN HIS THINKING ABOUT THE WEST BANK/GAZA/
PALESTINIAN PROBLEM THAN IS SADAT. WE WILL UNDOUBTEDLY
HAVE TO DEAL WITH KAMEL, HOWEVER, IN ROY'S FORTHCOMING
VISIT, BOTH BECAUSE SADAT WILL DELEGATE THE DETAILED DIS-
CUSSIONS TO HIM, AND ALSO BECAUSE SADAT WILL LOOK TO THE
FOREIGN MINISTER AND HIS ADVISORS TO PROVIDE THE WARNING
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SIGNALS WHEN HE IS "GOING TOO FAR". IN OUR JUDGMENT,
THEREFORE, MOST USEFUL USE TO WHICH YOU MIGHT PUT YOUR
RELATIVELY BRIEF AIRPORT SESSION WITH KAMEL ON 18TH WOULD
BE TO SOFTEN HIM UP FOR ROY'S MISSION IN TERMS OF THE
OVERALL MIDDLE EAST GAME PLAN WHICH THE PRESIDENT AND YOU
HAVE DISCUSSED WITH SADAT.

2. MAIN POINT TO TRY TO GET ACROSS TO KAMEL IS THAT WHILE WE ARE UNDERSTANDING OF EGYPTIAN SENSITIVITIES ABOUT TAKING A LEADING ROLE ON THE WEST BANK/GAZA/PALESTINIAN ISSUES AHEAD OF JORDANIANS AND PALESTINIANS THEMSELVES, SOMEHOW

WE MUST WORK TOGETHER TO BREAK OUT OF PRESENT VICIOUS CIRCLE WHICH LEAVES US WITH JORDANIANS AND PALESTINIANS UNWILLING TO ENTER NEGOTIATIONS ON BASIS OF WHAT ISRAELIS HAVE PUT FORWARD SO FAR, ISRAELIS TAKING POSITION THAT IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY ARAB INTERLOCUTOR ON THIS ISSUE OR ANY ARAB PROPOSAL IT SEES NO NEED TO COME FORWARD WITH ANY FURTHER COMPROMISES, AND EGYPTIANS TELLING US THAT WITHOUT JORDAN AND PALESTINIANS PARTICIPATING, EGYPT CANNOT NEGOTIATE PALESTINIAN ISSUES. UNLESS EGYPTIANS ARE WILLING TO PLAY A LEADERSHIP ROLE TO SOME DEGREE ON PALESTINIAN ISSUES, IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO BREAK THE OVERALL NEGOTIATING IMPASSE. TABLING BY EGYPTIANS OF SOME FORM OF REALISTIC PROPOSAL FOR WEST BANK/GAZA INTERIM PLAN AS WELL AS PRINCIPLES ON WITHDRAWAL AND PALESTINIAN PROBLEM, IS HIGHLY IMPORTANT TO OUR STRATEGY AS DISCUSSED WITH SADAT AT CAMP DAVID. WE BELIEVE THIS CAN BE DONE IN MANNER THAT BOTH HELPS TO ADVANCE NEGOTIATIONS AND AT SAME TIME DOES NOT CALL ON EGYPT TO ABANDON ANY VITAL POSITION ON THE ISSUES.

3. YOU WILL NOT NEED TO GO INTO DETAIL ABOUT OUR IDEAS
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FOR THE WEST BANK/GAZA AS ROY WILL HAVE PLENTY OF TIME TO DO THIS WITH BOTH SADAT AND KAMEL, BUT WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF YOU COULD TALK TO HIM ALONG THE BROAD LINES SUGGESTED ABOVE. IF THERE IS TIME, YOU MAY WISH ALSO TO STRESS IN GENERAL TERMS THE ADVANTAGES WE SEE IN THE INTERIM REGIME APPROACH AND THE DESIRABILITY OF THE EGYPTIANS GIVING MORE THOUGHT THAN THEY HAVE TO DATE ABOUT WHAT THE CONCRETE ARRANGEMENTS FOR SUCH A REGIME MIGHT LOOK LIKE.

4. TO BRING YOU UP TO DATE, EILTS INFORMED US THIS MORNING THAT, WHILE UNABLE TO TALK TO SADAT WHO IS TRAVELLING IN THE PROVINCES, BOTH MUBARAK AND KAMEL HAVE SAID EGYPT WELCOMES ATHERTON VISIT. KAMEL PREDICTABLY EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS ABOUT GETTING INTO WEST BANK/GAZA/PALESTINIAN QUESTION, BUT MUBARAK WAS MORE FORTHCOMING AND THOUGHT SADAT WOULD BE RESPONSIVE IN THIS RESPECT. KAMEL EMPHASIZED THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT FIRST ON DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, WHICH IF IT WERE A GOOD DECLARATION, WOULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR EGYPT TO MOVE INTO CONSIDERATION OF PALESTINIAN-RELATED ISSUES. LEWIS REPORTS THAT ISRAELIS ARE LUKEWARM ABOUT ATHERTON VISIT,

PREFERRING THAT THERE BE FURTHER TALKS BETWEEN YOU AND DAYAN EVEN BEFORE WE HAVE TALKS WITH EGYPTIANS. THEY UNDERSTAND, HOWEVER, THAT ATHERTON WILL BE GOING TO CAIRO AND IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES ARE ALSO PREPARED TO TALK TO HIM IN JERUSALEM. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF YOU DO NOT RETURN TO AFRICA AFTER MOSCOW, DAYAN WOULD LIKE TO COME TO WASHINGTON FOR TALKS WITH YOU SOMETIME DURING WEEK OF APRIL 24. ATHERTON'S PRESENT PLANS ARE TO OVERLAP WITH SAUNDERS IN LONDON THURSDAY, APRIL 20, AND PROCEED TO CAIRO FRIDAY, APRIL 21. MEETING WITH SADAT, WHO WILL STILL BE TOURING PROVINCES (ON RED SEA COAST) AT THAT TIME, HAS BEEN TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED FOR SUNDAY, APRIL 23. IF YOU DO NOT RETURN TO AFRICA AND AGREE TO SEE DAYAN IN WASHINGTON, WE WOULD SUGGEST IT BE SCHEDULED FOR LATE IN THE WEEK OF
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APRIL 24-28. THIS WOULD GIVE ATHERTON TIME FOR EXTENDED TALKS WITH EGYPTIANS, AFTER WHICH HE COULD RETURN DIRECTLY TO WASHINGTON FROM CAIRO WITHOUT GOING TO ISRAEL IN ORDER TO BE PRESENT FOR YOUR TALKS WITH DAYAN. ALTERNATIVELY, YOU COULD ASK DAYAN TO COME WEEK OF MAY 1, WHICH WOULD GIVE ATHERTON TIME FOR SOME PRELIMINARY TALKS WITH HIM IN JERUSALEM AFTER CAIRO. SAM LEWIS REPORTS, HOWEVER, THAT BOTH BEGIN AND DAYAN ARE RESISTANT TO THE IDEA OF HAVING DAYAN IN THE STATES DURING THE TIME BEGIN WILL BE HERE (I.E., APRIL 30-MAY 7 APPROXIMATELY). LEWIS SAYS DAYAN WILL NOT BE AVAILABLE AFTER MAY 7 UNTIL ABOUT MID-MAY BECAUSE OF PREVIOUSLY SCHEDULED VISIT TO SCANDINAVIA.

5. SAUNDERS WILL HAVE THE LATEST ON ALL THIS WHEN HE SEES YOU IN LONDON AND WILL BE ABLE TO CONVEY YOUR LATEST GUIDANCE TO ATHERTON WHEN THEY MEET MORNING OF APRIL 20. CHRISTOPHER

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